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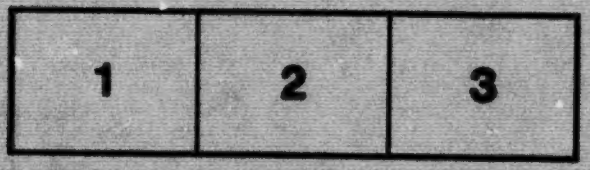

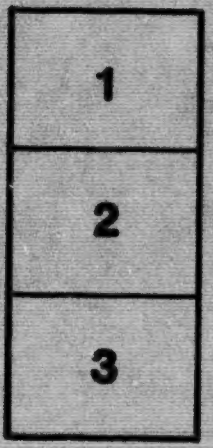

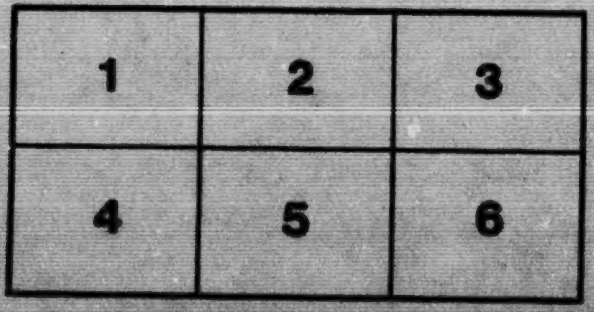

Agriculture And Industry

A Speech delivered by
Sir John Willison
before the
Board of Trade of Woodstock
October 6, 1920

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AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

A Speech delivered by Sir John Willison before the Board of Trade of Woodstock, on October 8, 1920

For various reasons it is a pleasure to me to come to Woodstock. There was a time when Oxford, to my mind, represented all that was sound in political tradition, faith, and practice, and when the returns in successive general elections were singularly satisfactory and comforting. If I have not held with complete fidelity to the old relations, possibly Oxford also has become more doubtful in its political judgments. Again, Oxford has an intimate historical relation to great figures in Canadian history. Hon. George Brown, and Hon. William McDougall, and Sir Oliver Mowat, and Sir Richard Cartwright were among the chief architects of Confederation, and seldom indeed has this county been represented in the Legislature or the House of Commons by men who did not give distinction to the public councils. Oxford, too, has the old tradition of economy, of thrift, of love of learning, of patriotic devotion to the Commonwealth which are the natural heritage of Scotsmen, their great gifts to the land from which they come and all lands to which they go, and their peculiar titles to the goodwill and respect of mankind. One who was born in Huron cannot fully admit that this is the banner county of Ontario as the literature of the Board of Trade contends, but, with a reservation in favor of Huron only, the claim is not contested. Finally, in Oxford, in its prosperous industrial communities and in its rich fields, herds and dairies, there is that happy union of agriculture and manufacture which, as I believe, ensures a high general average of contentment and prosperity, which fills my conception of a strong, virile and independent nation, and which expresses my ideal of what Canada may become across all its broad expanse, as its resources are developed and conserved for the common benefit of its people and to the ever increasing strength and security of the national structure.

RURAL DEPOPULATION

There is no natural quarrel between industry and agriculture. Co-operation between these two great primary interests is essential if a nation is to become populous and prosperous. We hear much on the subject of "rural depopulation," but I am bound to think that the whole controversy is distinguished by singular want of information and lack of candor. A great variety of causes explains the decline in rural population and the movement of people into towns and cities. The experience of free trade England was not different from that of protectionist America. The history of New South Wales under low tariff was not different from that of the protectionist states of Australia. Much necessary farm labor of forty or fifty years ago has been displaced by machinery. The binder has dispossessed the cradle. The plough is yielding its ascendancy to the tractor. Even in the household, in the dairy, and in the farmyard, mechanical inventions displace much hand labor. To contend that as many people should be engaged in general farming on a thousand acres

as were so employed fifty years ago, would be as unreasonable as to insist that as many hand printers should be employed in printing offices as were required before the linotype was invented. In many communities the local grain market has become a legend. The waggon-maker who was found in every village and the blacksmith at so many cross-roads are few as compared with a generation ago. So rural free delivery and the mail order system are closing the village stores and forcing the merchant and his clerks into other pursuits, and few of these can be, or ever could be, persuaded to adopt farming. Abolition of liquor licenses and revolutionary changes in social habits have closed many of the village taverns. I think of a score of villages which I knew in my boyhood. In all there were fifty or sixty hotels. In a dozen of these there is now no house where even meals can be obtained. In none is there more than a single hotel. Ten of those villages have ceased to exist. Not one of those which survive has had any increase of population. In one the population has decreased from five or six hundred to less than two hundred. The middleman is disappearing solely from social and economic causes and not through the effect, direct or indirect, of fiscal policy. It may be true that there are fewer people on the land, but it is not true that general production has decreased. There have been revolutionary changes in rural conditions, but that farming is less profitable is a notion for which the facts give no support. There are few other branches of industry in which machinery has so multiplied production. Manifestly, too, if use of machinery has so increased a great deal of farm labor necessary under more primitive conditions must have been displaced and rural population proportionately decreased where a more intensive agriculture has not been developed.

FARM PROSPERITY

It is stated that the deposits in the banks of British Columbia equal the deposits in all the banks of Canada thirty years ago, and that the deposits in the banks of the three Prairie Provinces exceed the total deposits in all the banks of the Dominion less than a generation ago. From year to year the whole country takes an acute interest in the Western wheat crop, and it is estimated that for this year at the prevailing high prices the grain crops of the Prairie Provinces represent a total value of $800,000,000 or possibly $1,000,000,000. But we seem to forget that there never has been a year since the West was opened to settlement that stock, dairy, and field products in Ontario have not exceeded in value the total agricultural production of all the Western Provinces. Many of us remember when farm mortgages were very common and chattel mortgages not uncommon throughout this Province, and when the bulk of farmers purchased at the village stores on credit. One is now told by mortgage companies that it is practically impossible to lend money on farm mortgages in Ontario, while chattel mortgages are as rare as wild pigeons in settled country. Such money as is borrowed by farmers is secured chiefly for purchase of stock, for drainage, for more land, or for other purposes which increase revenue and the value of the holdings. In all this one rejoices while one doubts if farmers have been the victims of political neglect or excessive taxation.

LAND VALUES

What would be the effect upon the value of farm lands in Oxford if the industries of Woodstock and Ingersoll and Brantford were degraded to the status of rural foundries and those industrial centres transformed into pastoral villages. According to the Canada Year Book for

1919, the average value of occupied farm land in Ontario is $66 an acre and in Quebec $72 an acre, as against $35 in Manitoba, $32 in Saskatchewan, and $29 in Alberta. In industrial New England, according to the official reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, plough lands average slightly higher in value than those of Ontario and Quebec, while in the great agricultural and industrial states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, they range from $91 to $169, as against from $33 to $61 in the South and $37 in the purely agricultural State of North Dakota. One looks to a future when, through the natural growth and general distribution of industries, the farm lands of Western Canada will compare in value with those of Ontario and Quebec and conceivably with those of Illinois and Iowa. Between 1914 and 1920 farm land values in the United States increased 70 per cent., farm wages 100 per cent., and value of crops per acre 124 per cent. For Canada we have no complete comparative statistics, although, however temporary the condition may be, we no doubt have proportionate increases in land prices, wages and value of production. If it were known that in five years a rural crossroads in Oxford would become an industrial centre of 20,000 people, would the surrounding farmers sell their farms for an advance of 50 per cent. upon the best prices they could now obtain? Let me submit a practical illustration. A year or so ago soda ash was transferred from the free list to the schedule of dutiable imports with a duty of one-third of a cent per pound under the British preferential tariff and three-tenths of a cent under the general tariff, and as a result the Brunner, Mond Company have established a plant at Amherstburg. In its construction 1,000 men were employed. There are 400 workers on the payroll and the annual total for wages exceeds $800,000. The Company is utilizing salt and limestone, natural resources of the district, in manufacturing a product for which we sent annually between $2,000,000 and $2,500,000 out of the country. The town has had a remarkable revival of prosperity and land in the neighborhood which could be bought two or three years ago for $100 an acre is now held at $200. Moreover, naturally and inevitably increase of farm values around Amherstburg improves land values over the whole district, for the effects of a great industry are wide and far-reaching. Surely the evidence is conclusive that where industries flourish and expand farm lands rise in value, and that in all those states and provinces of North America in which manufacturing is general, active and prosperous, farmers too are most prosperous and farms of greatest value. It is significant that in Quebec where manufacturing steadily expands rural population is increasing. Five years ago the total area of land under cultivation in the Province was 10,500,000 acres. This year 15,000,000 acres are under cultivation. In a speech at Quebec a few months ago Sir Lomer Gouin rejoiced that through industrial development the movement of population out of the province had been substantially overcome.

THE LESSON OF THE SOUTH

There was no general recovery in the South from the ruin of the Civil War until cotton factories became common and the iron and steel industry had its great development. It was found that milk rose in value, that the market for dairy products increased, that canning factories created a demand for products previously ungrown or unsalable, and that millions of dollars spent in the purchase and transportation of imported food preparations were transferred directly to the pockets of southern farmers. In a single year before the revival of agriculture,

Alabama imported canned goods and other food supplies from California and elsewhere to the value of $110,000,000. In less than a quarter of a century the total assessment of North Carolina has increased from $1,000,000,000 to $4,000,000,000. In other States of the South there have been material accretions of wealth and prosperity. So one believes that the Western Provinces of Canada cannot have their full measure of prosperity until they develop industries naturally related to their resources or such as supply the needs and demands of an agricultural population. In no other way can they provide satisfactory local markets, escape the heavy freight charges for carriage of goods from remote industrial centres and retain in their own country the sons of farmers and townspeople who cannot be persuaded to follow agricultural pursuits. Evidence that this view begins to prevail in the West is afforded by the organization of Industrial Committees in the Legislatures of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta and by the activities of the Alberta Industrial Association. Nothing is more impossible and impracticable than to force upon the land those who have no inclination for farming and only need to cross the international boundary in order to find any variety of employment and every opportunity for the exercise of their talent and the gratification of their ambition. I firmly believe that if the factories of Woodstock and Ingersoll did not exist the farmers of Oxford could afford to tax themselves directly in order to create such factories and thereby provide local markets and maintain land values. We may deplore "rural depopulation," but who believes that Oxford would have its present population if we had failed to encourage manufacturing in Canada and so fashioned public policy as to maintain this as a strictly pastoral country? I believe that if a policy directly inimical to industry were adopted in this country a few years of practical experience would demonstrate the force of these arguments. I am old enough to remember the Great Exodus, which carried every member of our family except myself to the United States and when there was scarcely a household in Huron which was not depleted by the movement across the border. And they fled from low tariff to high tariff. I recall a verse by Miss Machar:—

Out from our bounds they're going, scores, hundreds, day by day,
O'er country roads and city streets they take their lingering way;
They wave their hands and smile goodbye, the gallant boys and true,
The lads that love the dear old flag at least as well as you.

AIDS TO AGRICULTURE

One does not deny that scarcity and cost of farm labor constitute a supreme problem in agriculture. But it is impossible to believe that a national policy which would create depression in the towns and cities would materially increase the supply of farm labor or enhance the prosperity of the farming communities. The solution lies in a change of social temper and individual outlook. The change must affect other countries as well as Canada, and particularly, it must affect the country to the south of us, which has an avaricious maw for Canadian raw material, for the best product of Canadian colleges and universities, and for the incorporation in its civil and industrial activities of a people distinguished as Canadians are for industry and efficiency. If you go to any of the great centres of the United States you will find Canadians in positions of influence, authority and responsibility, out of all proportion to their numerical representation in the population. For many years the drain from this country was so great that it was almost mortal. If we are to create a powerful nation in British

North America we cannot be a recruiting ground for American industries, research laboratories, technical institutions, and all the higher agencies of civilization. I do not believe the people of this country would support a policy which they believed was inimical to agriculture. This is as true of the great body of manufacturers as of any other element of the population. During the last five years the Federal Parliament has appropriated nearly $22,000,000 for agriculture. For 1918 the Provinces voted $3,500,000. For 1919 the Provincial expenditures for agriculture were nearly $4,000,000. The Provincial and Federal appropriations for agriculture last year totalled $8,500,000. In placing soldiers on the land over $76,000,000 have been expended. Our great expenditures for rail and water transportation have been primarily designed to increase land settlement, to give western settlers better railway connections, to reduce freight charges, and to give farmers cheaper access to local and foreign markets. In our appropriations for immigration the chief objects have been to increase rural population and the supply of farm labor. But there has been no protest from the towns and cities, from merchants or manufacturers, or from the industrial classes which have borne and will continue to bear at least a fair share of the burden. It is true that all classes benefit by increase of farming population, and possibly we have not always been wise in policy or provident in expenditure. But the fact remains that Canadian Governments have always been greatly concerned for the welfare of farmers, and that any and all proposals designed to assist agriculture have commanded, and I believe will continue to command, the practically unanimous support of the Legislatures and the Federal Parliament, subject to a single condition that the national interest shall be the supreme consideration; and it is as essential for agriculture as for industry that that condition shall be the base and the test of all public policy.

FREE TRADE DANGERS

It is true, as I have often argued, that we are situated as is no other country in the world. As between Asia and the West and as between the nations of Europe, movement of population from one country to another is obstructed by differences of language and of custom. There is no considerable movement of Americans or Canadians into Mexico or South America. But Canada and the United States have common traditions, common customs, a common language, and a common social and political outlook, and unless we develop industries and afford opportunity for men of different inclinations, ambitions and endowments, of individual genius and special aptitudes, they will cross the boundary where every opportunity they may desire is afforded, and the natural resources of Canada will lie undiscovered or undeveloped unless we are content to feed these resources to American factories and become a commercial adjunct of the powerful neighboring nation. An Irish private, sorely wounded, in hospital in France, pleaded to be sent back to Ireland where he believed he would recover. In the hope that his spirit would revive and that he would make a harder struggle for life, the nurse with the doctor's consent told the wounded hero while he had a moment of consciousness that he was home in Ireland. Nothing would do but his head must be lifted on the pillow so that he could look out through the window. As he gazed across the desolated, battle-scarred country, he whispered, "when in h———did we get Home Rule?" I think of Canada after a revolutionary reversal of fiscal policy and I wonder, but I do not venture to suggest just what language would describe the situation.

Those of us who must live upon wages or salaries are most seriously affected by the higher cost of living, but for my part I hope that wheat will never again be sold as low as $1 a bushel and that the prices of other farm products will never fall to the old levels. I have no patience with those who denounce farmers as "profiteers" or who profess to believe that farming is an easy or highly profitable occupation. It is still true as the old rhyme said:—

Plow deep while sluggards sleep,
And you shall have corn to sell and to keep.
He that with the plow would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive.

FARMERS AND PUBLIC LIFE

One should rejoice in all legitimate movements among farmers for co-operation to improve marketing and secure the best return for all they produce. One cannot doubt that the chief co-operative enterprises of the Grain Growers have been of great advantage to Western Canada even if one questions the wisdom and practicability of some of their political teaching. All that makes rural life more attractive and farming more profitable is of direct social and national advantage, for, when all is said, it is only by greater returns from agriculture and by fuller recognition of the social dignity of the calling that the population upon the land will be materially increased. There have been too few farmers in the Legislatures, in the House of Commons, in the Senate, in honorable places upon public commissions. I cannot think that a successful banker, or railway builder, or manufacturer, or educationist holds a more honorable position in the community than a successful farmer or stock breeder. From generation to generation the supply of educationists, bankers, capitalists, and even the social leaders of the cities, is renewed and maintained by recruits from the country. It is idle to talk of classes in Canada where the hired hand of to-day is the great employer of to-morrow, and when in a single generation the obscure youth from a back township becomes the possessor of millions or the chief adviser of the crown in the national councils. The farms are the nurseries of scholars and statesmen, of the leaders in Finance and Industry, and where that happens the system of education is not a failure and democracy is not an imposture.

Which is stranger?
Brick or stone or calico?
There was One born in a manger
Nineteen hundred years ago.

But let us so fashion industrial and national policy that all we have of character and intellect and constructive genius will be available for the better organization, the greater enrichment, and the wider extension of the influence and prestige of this Canadian Commonwealth.

INDUSTRY AND EFFICIENCY

There are only two sureties of individual success or collective prosperity. These are industry and efficiency. In all the world there is nothing more contemptible than laziness. Who takes the wages and grudges the service is a poor creature. To have money and leisure and do nothing for the community is social and national treason. Even the gods are busy with the destinies of mankind. The man who creates a great industry, turns raw material into finished products and employs labor at good wages is a public benefactor even though he amasses wealth in the process. In these days the labor leader who organizes workmen to demand higher wages but neglects to emphasize the need of efficiency and greater production, puts a class interest before the general interest. So does the farmer who reduces production in order to increase prices, or the manufacturer who uses a tariff to secure an unreasonable margin of profit.

There is a statement by Mr. W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the English Federation of Trade Unions and President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which one would like to have posted in every shop, factory and post office in Canada, read from every pulpit, and printed on the first page of every newspaper. "Everything depends," he says, "upon production. Standards of living cannot be raised, nor can existence be maintained unless mankind accepts this contention. Eloquence, rhetoric or legislative action, whether acting separately or collectively, cannot make the corn grow or build houses, or feed children or clothe humanity. Only working and thinking can provide the things essential to life and comfort."

THE RIGHT OF COMBINATION

A mass of evidence establishes conclusively that the bulk of manufacturers do not take full advantage of the tariff, and the industrial history of the United States demonstrates as conclusively that there is active, continuous and effective competition among industries which enjoy a common protection. Is there any more reason to deny the right of combination among industries to effect economies in production and distribution than there is to enact statutory regulations to prevent co-operation among farmers? It is true that there have been and there will be greedy and plundering combinations in industry, but we have also heard of compacts among growers of cotton and tobacco to maintain or increase prices beyond the natural level of the markets. There are even those who have suspected predatory combination among milk producers and have girded at the profits of the Grain Growers' Companies. It is significant that when the Government at Washington took over the railways there was an immediate decision to co-ordinate and consolidate the services. But under the Sherman Act such combination and consolidation of services by the private companies to improve and cheapen transportation was not permitted. Assuredly railway charges should be regulated, and I do not suggest that commerce should have the powers of an absolute autocracy. But I do believe that governmental meddling with prices and wages, with industrial organization and methods of production, generally produces only confusion and mischief. The sense of equity among manufacturers is as strong and active as among farmers, and as strong and active in either class as in the councils of political cabinets. No Government can supply the initiative and energy, the stimulus to organization and production, which lie in the prospect of private profit and in the sheer love of producing a perfect product or creating a great enterprise. When one thinks of the remarkable war achievements of Canadian manufacturers and workmen, of the general attitude of the industries towards labor and the returned soldiers during this period of reconstruction, and of the energy generally manifested in readjusting the industrial machinery to peace conditions, in meeting domestic demands when imports could not be obtained, and in striving to secure a permanent foothold in foreign markets, and then reads the uninformed criticism and ungenerous attacks to which Canadian industries are so often subjected, associated with pious assurances that no class prejudice or natural enmity inspires these deliverances, one thinks of the moonshiner in Tennessee who was assured by the judge that in passing sentence he was actuated only by sympathy for his family and concern for his personal welfare, and as a peroration gave him six years in the penitentiary, and who said to the constable as he was led out of Court, "I sure am glad that the Jedge wan't mad at me."

IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST

It is a mistake to think that we have maintained tariff duties in Canada primarily and peculiarly for the benefit of manufacturers. A manufacturer as such deserves no more legislative consideration than a farmer or a merchant or a workman. We can defend protection only as a national policy and only upon considerations of national safety and national interest. Moreover the manufacturer may only demand duties which will secure for Canadian industries equal competitive conditions with those of other countries. Surely it is to the general advantage that Canadian labor should not have to compete with the cheaper labor of Austria or Japan, that a policy which brings a multitude of American industries and millions of American capital to this country should be substantially maintained, that the raw materials of Canada should be manufactured to the last processes in Canadian factories, that we should have towns and cities which provide local markets for farmers, and that engineers, and scientists educated in Canadian colleges and universities should not have to go elsewhere for employment and recognition. There is a nativism which is feeble in spirit and narrow in outlook, but aside altogether from the sheer necessity of expanding revenues and an increasing population to meet our very heavy obligations, it is legitimate that the Canadian people should be enriched by their own resources and aspire to possess the essential conveniences and finished institutions of a high civilization.

It is unfortunate that we have not got an independent Tariff Commission to investigate and report upon industrial and agricultural conditions in other countries, the wages of labor and cost of production elsewhere, and the advantages or disadvantages in transportation of Canadian industries as compared with those of competing nations. No one thinks that such a Commission should have power to fix rates of duty or should usurp any of the natural functions of government. The people through their elected representatives must have power over tariffs as over all other questions of public policy. But we would be rid of many misconceptions and escape much angry and unprofitable controversy if we had a High Court of Facts to which we could appeal and if Parliament could base industrial legislation upon evidence which would be substantially beyond suspicion in its origin, definite in statement and unrelated to any class or sectional interest. The Tariff Commission of the United States has greatly moderated the asperities of fiscal debate. It has contributed towards stability in industry and caution in legislation. It has not infringed upon any of the prerogatives of Congress, it is not now an object of popular suspicion, nor is it ever regarded as the mouthpiece of any class, party, or interest. We need such a Court of Facts in Canada, and one cannot easily understand the attitude of organized farmers who oppose its creation, as contrasted with that of organized labor which by resolution of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress and by petition of 1,200 local unions has declared unequivocally and aggressively in favor of a Tariff Commission.

FREIGHT RATES

We have a difficult railway problem, and at the moment there is general irritation over heavy increases in freight and passenger charges. Owing to the great distances which separate communities and Provinces in this country high railway charges are very onerous. But possibly inefficiency in transportation is even more demoralizing than the exaction of high rates by the public carriers. This has been

demonstrated by the demoralization of the railway system of the United States, where all business has been dislocated, coal shipments retarded and disastrous freight blockades created, by the failure of the railways to secure necessary capital for rolling stock and equipment, for the maintenance of roadbed, for high power engines, and adequate siding and terminal facilities. It is difficult to conceive a more unfortunate situation than that which arises when the transportation services become unequal to the demands of commerce. At any cost we must ensure that the railway services of Canada do not deteriorate and that the deficits upon the national railway system do not involve oppressive general taxation. It does seem that railway charges must increase if tens of millions are added to the wages of railway workers and costs of materials and supplies increase proportionately. But I am concerned chiefly to emphasize efficiency as a supreme factor in transportation. There is need to-day not only for the expenditure of tens of millions but of hundreds of millions on the national railways to provide additional equipment, more powerful engines, and stronger permanent structures, to improve and rebuild roadbed, and to give better service for passengers, and expedite the movement of freight on the branches and even on long sections of the main system. It was a misfortune for the Grand Trunk and for Canada that the Company never had adequate supplies of capital, and the progress of the country will be retarded if the Government in the operation of the national railways cannot command greater financial resources than the Grand Trunk possessed. Moreover, it is vital, in consideration of our huge investments in railways, that population and production of field and factory should increase and traffic go over Canadian carriers to interprovincial markets and Canadian sea-ports.

A WONDERFUL FUTURE

A word as to the outlook for Canada. No one may believe that we shall not have unsettled periods and seasons of commercial depression, that progress will be even and uninterrupted, and that we shall not be affected by conditions and events in other countries. We have learned that a great war shakes the ends of the earth and that no nation can be a world unto itself. But I do believe that in the next quarter of a century we shall have not only the greatest expansion in the history of Canada but in the history of the continent. There are men still living in the United States who have seen its population grow from 25,000,000 to 105,000,000. Moreover that country had to depend upon the natural birth-rate and immigration from Europe. If you say that the United States has varieties of climate which we do not possess, I answer that the South never attracted immigration and that the growth has been chiefly under conditions of climate and through the exploitation of just such resources as we have in Canada. We will draw from a Europe in the throes of recreation and from a neighboring country of over one hundred millions of people, of whom hundreds of thousands in the years ahead will overflow into Canada and assure a growth of population beyond any ratio the United States ever knew and beyond the dream of any optimist in the infancy of Confederation. The prospect is as sobering as it is alluring, for tremendous problems lie before Canadian statesmen, and there is supreme necessity that we should have regard to the quality of immigrants who will come to us from any and every country and protect as best we may the character and dignity of our institutions. If the stream runs too freely we must develop grave social and political evils, and one cannot but think that there is a flavor of inhumanity in

deportation as a method of escape from the inevitable consequences of our own want of vision and vigilance. It is doubtful if we have now, or ever have had, any adequate machinery for handling immigrants with sympathy and wisdom. Primarily, but perhaps not exclusively, we should endeavor to put people on the land, but the land should be chosen with knowledge and discrimination, the new settlers should have all necessary training and supervision during the first years of occupancy, and they should have all possible protection against mistakes in method and failure in results. For failure in selection of immigrants or in the system of settlement means impoverished colonies in the towns and cities, a lower average of citizenship, and an excess of incompetent and shiftless labor. Adequate supervision of immigration may be onerous and costly but there could be no sounder national investment than that which produces a happy and prosperous people. There is need for closer co-operation between the Federal Department of Immigration and the Provincial Governments to provide such accurate information regarding farms available for purchase in older Canada as is afforded regarding opportunities and conditions in the Prairie Provinces. For reasons which may not require defence the immigration policy of the Federal Government has been sectional. Henceforth it should be national. Unquestionably many British and American settlers could be placed on improved farms in Ontario and the Eastern Provinces under conditions and in surroundings which would ensure pleasant social relations and the certain prospect of a decent return upon their investment.

EAST AND WEST

We complain sometimes that the West does not understand older Canada, that our industries are defamed, our capitalists suspected, and our political leaders distrusted. But have we any adequate conception of the optimism, the energy, the constructive quality and the patriotic spirit of the western people? Do we realize as we should that they are building a social and political structure on the prairies which will compare in virtue, in solidity and in finish, with the best achievements of the pioneers of these older Provinces? It may be that the West does not fully understand our temper or our outlook, but one is not more confident that we of the East are free from repro[illegible] or that we have made any grea[illegible] acrifice of time or money or effort [illegible] order to interpret ourselves to the western people and demonstrate an interest and a patriotism which are not diluted with considerations of profit. Even many of the political leaders of the older Provinces are comparative strangers to the Prairie population, and except during a general election they seldom appear upon a western platform. It is good fortune for Canada, and I am sure I speak with no thought of any party interest or relation, that a representative of the West has become Prime Minister and the leader of a national party, and surely only national benefit would follow if political leaders of British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces could appear more often before Boards of Trade, and Canadian Clubs and industrial organizations in older Canada, and if through Grain Growers' conventions and other western organizations the industrial, financial and political leaders of the East could establish a more intimate relation with the virile forces in town and country which are moulding the temper and fashioning the institutions of the newer Provinces. If there are differences between East and West—and it is easy to exaggerate the gravity of such differences as prevail—they are chiefly the result of distance and want of intimacy and knowledge, for the East can give the

West no lessons in patriotism or public spirit, nor need the West look to the East for examples in ideals or achievement. By vigor and courage in political controversy the truth is established, and it is not to be expected that either East or West will yield its sincere convictions or recognize any final authority in public policy save a parliamentary majority.

There is said to be an oriental bird, called the santamingo, which is believed by foolish sailors to give its possessor great content and peace of mind. According to a verse in Punch:—

East from the Mahanadi and north of the Nicobar
You will come to Evening Island where the santamingoes are:
Their wings are sunrise orange and their tails are starlight blue;
You catch a santamingo and all your dreams come true.

Let us all try to feel that we possess santamingoes and with serenity of mind and high courage and patriotic ardor set ourselves to the tasks and duties which constitute the obligations of citizenship in a free country.

Copies of this address may be secured free of charge from the Editorial Department, Canadian Reconstruction Association,
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